

'A Mighty Work of Grace': An Examination of the Revival of the
Army of Northern Virginia

by

Rachel M. Alvarez

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

Master of Arts in Biblical Studies

Regent University

Virginia Beach, VA

July 2010

School of Divinity

Regent University

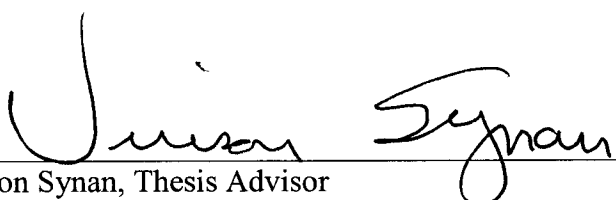
This is to certify that the thesis prepared by:

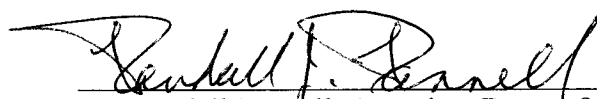
Rachel M. Alvarez

entitled

**'A MIGHTY WORK OF GRACE': AN EXAMINATION OF THE REVIVAL OF
THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA**

Has been approved by her thesis advisor as satisfactory completion of the
thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

 9/02/2010
Dr. Vinson Synan, Thesis Advisor Date
School of Divinity

 2 August 2010
Dr. Randall Pannell, Associate Dean of Academics Date
School of Divinity

'A MIGHTY WORK OF GRACE': AN EXAMINATION OF THE REVIVAL OF THE
ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

ABSTRACT

During the Civil War, the soldiers of the Confederate Army experienced a great revival that spread throughout the troops. The purpose of this work is to examine this great revival and its theological background. This paper will specifically study the revival within the Army of Northern Virginia, where the revivals were most effective and concentrated. First, this paper will create the context of the revival by examining its theological influences, including Charles Finney's "revival theology" and others. Then this paper will address how these seemingly opposing theological influences played out in the revivals and what the results were, using examples from the letters and memoirs of chaplains and soldiers that served in the Army of Northern Virginia. This paper will conclude with a description of the great revivals and their outcomes.

Acknowledgements

There are so many people who have helped to make this venture a success.

I would like to thank my grandparents, my parents and my sister for their constant love and support. They always encouraged me in my learning pursuits and pushed me to go farther.

I would like to thank my husband, Danny for all of his patience and help throughout this process. He has been an indispensable help to me, encouraging me, giving me ideas and not letting me give up.

I would like to thank all the professors and staff at Regent that have helped me and taught me so much during my time there. I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Vinson Synan, for all of his help and wisdom in this process.

All glory and honor to Jesus Christ, without whom I am nothing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction	1
Significance and Scope of the Investigation	2
Methodology and Goals	3
II. The Theological Background to the Revival	4
Charles Finney and "Revivalism"	4
Methodist Holiness Tradition	9
III. The Great Revivals	14
The Army of Northern Virginia	14
The Revival of the Army of the Northern Virginia	16
The Revival Meetings	20
The Chaplains who Served	24
Helps and Hindrances to the Revivals	28
IV. Religion and Theology of the Revivals	35
Influences of Revivalism	35
Holiness in the Camps	49
V. Conclusion	45
Results of the Revivals	45
Conclusion	47
VI. Bibliography	49

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The subtitle of this work, "A Mighty Work of Grace" is taken from the words of a chaplain describing the revival that occurred among the Confederate Armies. The chaplain believed that this experience of God that happened during the Civil War was an act of God's grace during one of the worst wars that the United States has ever seen.¹ This quotation explains what I believe is one of the reasons behind the significance of this topic. In the midst of the brutal fighting and constant death, the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia experienced God in a profound way during the revivals. It is estimated that at the height of revival in 1863, over 80% of the brigades in the Army of Northern Virginia had been touched by the revivals!² Unfortunately, historians over the years have neglected the importance that religion played in the lives of the Confederate soldiers.³ As the previous statistics show, the revivals had a wide influence on the soldiers, and while not all soldiers responded with conversion to the revivals, they nevertheless experienced them in some shape or form. The stories of these revivals are an important part of the history of the Civil War and America in general that needs to be discussed. This topic also has a special importance to me personally as my ancestors were among those who fought in the Army of Northern Virginia.

¹ J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp: Religion in Lee's Army*, (Richmond, Virginia: B. F. Johnson & Co., 1887), 391.

² Gardiner H. Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies*, (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 99.

³ Robert J. Miller, *Both Prayed to the Same God*, (New York: Lexington Books, 2007), xiii.

Significance and Scope of the Investigation

This purpose of this paper is to investigate the revivals of the Army of Northern Virginia and to explore its theology and theological background. The revivals of the Army of Northern Virginia were an important part of the soldier's lives and were influenced by two sources in particular, first Charles Finney's revivalism, and secondly the Methodist holiness tradition. This work will be comprised of three main parts. The first part, chapter 2 will be the theological background. This chapter will briefly explain and describe the three different theological influences on the revivals as mentioned earlier. The second part, chapter 3 will be an historical overview of the revivals. After a short description of the Army of Northern Virginia, this paper will describe the revivals, when they occurred and what they were like, than take a look at the chaplains that served the army and conclude with influences that helped and hindered the revivals. The final part, chapter 4 will seek to engage the theological background with the historical accounts. In this chapter, we will look the accounts of the revivals, looking at specific examples that show the theological influences mentioned in the first part.

This investigation can, in no way, begin to discuss everything related to the revivals during the Civil War. Instead, this work will be limited in several ways. First, as it is written from an historical and theological perspective, so therefore little will be said about the military aspects of the war, only mentioned when relevant to the revivals or to place the event in time and location. Finally, this will be also limited in scope to only the Army of Northern Virginia. There were a few revivals that occurred in the Union Army and a number in the Confederate Army of Tennessee, but this work will solely focus on the revivals relating to the Army of Northern Virginia. This is the place where the

revivals were the longest lasting and had the greatest intensity. This work will also be limited to the Army of Northern Virginia due to my desire to study more what my ancestors may have faced as they lived and fought in the Army.

Methodology and Goals

This paper will be approached from a theological and historical perspective with a number of sources to provide an adequate backdrop for both perspectives. For the historical backdrop, the primary sources are focused around the letters and memoir collections written by the soldiers and chaplains who served in the Army of Northern Virginia and compiled by themselves or by another person. Two primary sources that are used heavily are the narratives of chaplains William Bennett and William Jones who both served in the Army of Northern Virginia. I also heavily rely on secondary material written by noted Civil War historians James McPherson, Bell Wiley, Gardiner Shattuck, G. Clinton Prim, Herman Norton, Drew Faust and Allan Lefever. To develop the theological background, I will be using a number of primary sources, including Finney's own works and sources on Wesley and Methodism. I will also use a number of theological books and articles to help present a strong background.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE REVIVALS

Charles Finney and "Revivalism"

One of the leading influences of the revivals of the Army of Northern Virginia was the revivalism of Charles Finney. Finney was one of the leading evangelists during the 2nd Great Awakening during the turn of the century. He rose to fame due to his evangelistic efforts in New York State where he conducted his first revival campaigns. They were met with such great success that it was called the "burnt-over" district because the area was so heavily evangelized that there were no more persons left unconverted. During the time of Finney, the dominant theology was Calvinism, which influenced the way revivals and evangelism were understood. Finney however disagreed with these methods and developed what he called "new measures" of revivals. With these new measures, he changed the way revivals were conducted in America. Charles Finney's theology changed the way nineteenth century Americans understood revivals and conversions and continue to impact American evangelistic theology today.⁴

Finney had serious reservations about Calvinist theology; especially in the way they did revivals. Finney was first and foremost an evangelist and revivals were his chief concern.⁵ His desire and passion for conversions was what paved the way for his developing theology. The system that was prevalent in New England had assumed that if God willed a man's salvation it would come to pass because God willed. The emphasis was placed on God and not the sinner's ability to do anything to change or better his

⁴ Bill Leonard, "Getting Saved in America: Conversion Event in a Pluralistic Culture," *Review & Expositor* 82, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 119.

⁵ James E. Johnson, "Charles Finney and a Theology of Revivalism," *Church History* 38, no. 3 (1969): 342.

condition.⁶ In this theology, "God was the author and agent. Sinners were relatively passive participants, in whom sovereign grace was infused, bringing that regeneration which activated repentance and faith. Conversion occurred less as decisive event than as reasonably discernible process."⁷ Finney disagreed with this and felt that it led men to think that they could do nothing but wait for God to save them in his time if He choose to.⁸

Instead, Finney filled his sermons with words that were designed so that they (the sinners) themselves had the power to change their situation by their own wills.⁹ This was one of the biggest divisions between the New School, including Finney, and the Old School Calvinists. Finney didn't accept the idea that people could do nothing but could only wait on the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ Instead, Finney felt that God would bring help to those who made an effort of their own will to reach out to him.¹¹ He advised the sinner not to wait on God "to do your duty, but do it immediately yourself, on pain of eternal death." Indeed, he warned that waiting on the infusion of divine grace could represent a futile form of works, which distracted the sinner from the immediacy of salvation.¹² Even though it is God who compels one to do it, it is still an action that man takes to do.¹³ Finney's theology of entire sanctification, however, provided a different way of

⁶ Johnson, *Charles Finney and the Theology of Revivalism*, 338.

⁷ Leonard, *Getting Saved in America*, 117.

⁸ Johnson, *Charles Finney and the Theology of Revivalism*, 343.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 343.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹² Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1868), 29.

¹³ Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 9.

monitoring the effectiveness of the conversion. It was no longer a one time event, but a process.¹⁴

One of Finney's lasting legacies was a book he wrote in 1835, called *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. Due to Finney's success in revivals, people were writing him from all over the country asking him to conduct revivals in their towns. Unable to travel to every particular place he was requested, Finney instead wrote down his thoughts on revivals to serve as a handbook for others wanting revivals.¹⁵ This book marked "the end of two centuries of Calvinism and the acceptance of pietistic evangelicalism as the predominant faith of the nation."¹⁶ His book served as "a textbook on how to promote revivals of religion...[a] perennial classic to which...succeeding generations of revivalists have turned for authority and inspiration."¹⁷ In this book, Finney defines what a revival, measures and means to promote revivals, obstacles to revivals, and other helps. In particular, he talks about the importance of prayer, backsliding Christians, and the "new measures."

Prayer was one of the most important forms of participation in revivals for people. Finney believed that prayer was the essential key to success for any revival. Whenever Finney conducted a revival, it was only after months of earnest prayer. Finney said that the importance of prayer in revivals is to influence God. Prayer influences God through

¹⁴ Leonard, *Getting Saved in America*, 118.

¹⁵ Charles Yrigoyen, "John Williamson Nevin: *The Anxious Bench* and Evangelical Party," *New Mercersburg Review* 1 (Fall 1985): 2.

¹⁶ Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, vii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vii.

intercession.¹⁸ This does not mean that we change God's mind or character, but that the prayer creates a change in us that becomes the right mind-set for God to work in our lives.¹⁹ Finney says this about prayer. "It is an essential link in the chain of causes that lead to a revival."²⁰ This kind of prayer or intercession is what Finney calls prevailing or effectual prayer. Effectual prayer is "surrounded by the idea that it wants to 'effect' or move God."²¹ To pray effectually, Finney says that "one must consistently pray for one thing in the will of God, like revival, and pray so consistently that things change so that the atmosphere is ripe for God to be effected and the blessing to come."²² Consistency is also important in effectual prayer. It is not enough to pray just once or twice, but it must persevering or consistent.

Charles Finney stated that in a true revival, Christians were always brought under conviction of sin. Revivals were not just a place for the unconverted to experience Christ, but it was also for Christians to come back to Christ. Finney mentions that one of the most important aspects of a successful revival is that the Christians participating are renewed, or revived. Backsliding Christians were brought to repentance as a "revival is nothing else than a new beginning of obedience to God."²³ These renewed Christians felt the grief and conviction that others did not love God as they loved him. Christians who experience the revivals eagerly encouraged their neighbors and others to experience what

¹⁸ Ibid., 48.

¹⁹ Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 48.

²⁰ Ibid., 48.

²¹ Ibid., 50.

²² Ibid., 50.

²³ G. Clinton Prim, "Born Again in the Trenches: Revivalism in the Confederate Army," (Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, 1982.), 2.

they had experienced. Thus a revival broke the powers of the world and of sin over Christians giving them a fresh impulse toward heaven as they were filled with the Holy Spirit.²⁴

Finney also wrote and defended his "new measures" or methods of revivalism that he used to promote revivals. These measures were to be used alongside the traditional measures, like prayer and preaching. Some of Finney's "new measures" include having women pray out loud in meetings, the anxious seat, revival campaigns of long durations, and personal witnessing. The anxious seat, Finney believed had its roots in the days of the apostle. He said, "The gospel was preached to the people, and then all those who were willing to be on the side of Christ were called to be baptized. It held the precise place that the anxious seat does now, as a public manifestation to their determination to be Christians."²⁵ The anxious seat, also called the mourners bench, was a place for people who wanted to surrender to Christ to come forward at the end of the meeting. It was a platform, often hewn out of rough wood, was surrounded by a rudimentary kneeling rail." At this rail, "those surrendering to Christ would come and often weep, and counselors would pray for lost souls to find Christ."²⁶ The anxious seat became the place for altar calls and prayer for those seeking a conversion. One of the most far-reaching measures of Finney's theology was the anxious seat.²⁷ It later evolved into the evangelical "invitation" or altar call that is now an important part of modern evangelistic meetings. Finney also

²⁴ Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 14-15.

²⁵ Ibid., 268-269

²⁶ Ergun Caner, "The Mourner's Bench: The Call to Decision by Dr. W. A. Criswell," *Criswell Theological Review* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 50.

²⁷ Leonard, *Getting Saved in America*, 119.

conducted many protracted meetings, or revival campaigns that would last either several days or weeks in duration.²⁸ As well as conducting the long campaigns, Finney also emphasized the importance of personal evangelism and the conversion event. Finney's new measures, along with his revivalism, became the mode and method for following revivals, including the one in the Army of Northern Virginia.

Methodist Holiness Tradition

Another major influence on the religion of the Confederate Army was the Methodist holiness tradition that was reappearing during the 19th Century. By the time of the Civil War, Methodism was the largest denomination in the Southern states. Methodist history is rooted in the theology developed by John Wesley. In particular, the holiness tradition came from Wesley's unique theology of entire sanctification, or what he called Christian perfection. This theology of perfection was at the heart of Methodism, but also influenced many other denominations. In America, it took on many different forms and unique expressions.

The theology is based on the Wesleyan principles of sanctification. Wesley believed in sanctification was an important part of the Christian life. It was through sanctification that one became more and more Christ-like. Wesley makes a distinction between the work of justification and sanctification in the life of a Christian. Justification was an instantaneous event that happens when the person is saved, through faith, as Wesley is quick to point out. But that is not the end, for then the process of sanctification has begun for the believer. The process of sanctification is very important for all believers to experience. Entire sanctification is “to be renewed in the image of God, in

²⁸ Yrigoyen, *The Anxious Bench*, 2.

righteousness and true holiness.”²⁹ It means going from strength, to strength, a gradual process till one is perfect in love. This process is one that must be pursued. A Christian must press on to perfection and go after the whole sanctification. But this does not mean that one can boast it has already happened to them. Wesley states “none therefore ought to believe that the work is done, till there is added the testimony of the Spirit, witnessing his entire sanctification, as clearly as his justification.”³⁰ For Wesley, it is important to distinguish between the work of justification, the instantaneous change that occurs in a believer to the work of entire sanctification, the daily renewing of the mind to be like God. Entire sanctification is what Wesley called "perfection" and was the goal of the Christian life.

This theology of perfection, or holiness began to spread in the United States in the middle 1800s. One theologian points out that the holiness churches and denominations are really "a synthesis of Methodism with the revivals of Charles Finney, as it found expression in pre-Civil War America in a reaffirmation of the doctrine of 'Christian perfection.'" ³¹ At the time of the Civil War there were three main branches of the holiness movement in America. One strand was the "Oberlin perfection" under Asa Mahan and Charles Finney, which stressed the importance of sanctification. The Oberlin perfection movement under Finney and Mahan was closely related to Wesley's teachings. In Oberlin, perfection or sanctification was seen "as the epitome of evangelical Christian

²⁹ John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, <<http://gbgm-umc.org/UMhistory/Wesley/perfect.html>> Accessed 13 July 2010, 10.

³⁰ Ibid., 18.

³¹ Donald W. Dayton, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," *The Christian Century* 92, no. 7 (Feb. 1975): 197.

life."³² In fact, Finney believed that entire sanctification was an important measure of conversion. If a conversion event "was not sustained by perfection – maturing love and holiness – it would not endure."³³ Another strand that developed was a split for the main Methodist church, which adopted a rigorous ethical and abolitionist stance. This split occurred in 1843 when some Wesleyan Methodists in Western New York could no longer agree with the official Methodist stance on slavery. Their emphasis on perfection "demanded complete consecration to the known will and purposes of God,"³⁴ and could not coincide together with slavery and they broke away from the main denomination.

The third strand came about in New York City where Phoebe Palmer had particular influence.³⁵ Palmer and her sister founded the "Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness" in 1839. This strand took a unique development in its theology of holiness. Holiness, for Palmer, was a matter of consecration. She began to emphasize the idea of Christ as the altar on which an individual consecrates one's life. She believed that "the divine promise of fullness of spiritual life, release from self-will and the habit of sinning could be realized in every Christian through entire consecration of the self offered as a gift of faith upon the 'Altar, Christ.'"³⁶ This consecration was at the heart of holiness. Many within the holiness movement, especially Finney and Mahan, began to use the terminology "second conversion" to define this experience of consecration and

³² Melvin Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1980), 22.

³³ Leonard, *Getting Saved in America*, 120.

³⁴ Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* 25.

³⁵ Dayton, *The Holiness Churches*, 197.

³⁶ Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, 27.

perfection.³⁷ One other important legacy of the Tuesday Meetings, which became a part of the whole holiness movement, was "the strong interdenominational influence which it exhibited in spite of its predominately Methodist origins."³⁸ The growth of the holiness movement experienced great unity among the different denominations.

During the decades before the War, the holiness movement spread to many other denominations. In the Revival of 1857-58, ideas of perfectionism became accepted in Baptist, Presbyterian, and Quaker denominations.³⁹ Another movement sprang up in the early 1800s that also helped to spread and popularize the holiness theology, the camp meeting. Camp meetings were large outdoor revival meetings that became popular in the southern and western states. First promoted by the Presbyterian denomination and James McGready at Cane Ridge, Kentucky in 1801, they later abandoned it and the camp meetings became a part of Methodist tradition.⁴⁰ Methodism quickly became one of the largest Protestant denominations in the United States due to the success of their camp meetings.⁴¹ Two things that characterized antebellum Methodism were the camp meetings and Wesley's doctrine of holiness.⁴² Many of the camp meeting preachers stressed the importance of sanctification in the Christian life. Even in the religious newspapers before and during the war, there was a call for pastors and chaplains to

³⁷ Ibid., 22.

³⁸ Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, 37.

³⁹ Dayton, *The Holiness Churches*, 197.

⁴⁰ Richard Shiels, "America's Pentecost," *Cross Currents* 42, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 96.

⁴¹ Ibid., 98.

⁴² Ibid., 98.

preach repentance, faith and holiness.⁴³ One of the ideas stressed by the holiness movement was ethical perfection. Some of the "perfected" ethics that were sought by believers and emphasized in the preaching were "no smoking, no drinking."⁴⁴ Their emphasis on piety and holiness led many Methodists to stay away from politics and instead promote sanctification.⁴⁵ The doctrine of holiness was an important part of the Methodist theology and another major influence on the Confederate revivals.

⁴³ G. Clinton Prim, "Southern Methodism in the Confederacy" *Methodist History* 23, no. 4 (1985): 240.

⁴⁴ Dayton, *The Holiness Churches*, 98.

⁴⁵ Richard Carwardine, "Methodist, Politics, and the Coming of the American Civil War," *Church History* 69, no. 3 (Sept. 2000): 582.

CHAPTER THREE: THE GREAT REVIVALS

The Army of Northern Virginia

The Army of Northern Virginia was the main branch of the Confederate Army in the Eastern Theater. Its most famous commander was General Robert E. Lee, but he was not the first. The first commander was General Beauregard who led the troops for only a month, from June to July of 1861. The next commander was General Joseph Johnston who was in charge till he was wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines in May of 1861. After his wounded, Confederate President Jefferson Davis moved to place Robert E. Lee in charge of the troops and he remained the commander till the surrender at the end of the war. The term "Army of Northern Virginia" seems to have been established by Lee.

To adequately command an army the size of the Army of Northern Virginia, organization is essential. For most of the war, the Army was divided up into three main Corps with some changes happening in later years. The First Corps was commanded by Gen. James Longstreet throughout the war and fought in every major battle in the East and even a couple in Tennessee. Gen "Stonewall" Jackson commanded the Second Corps until his death, when it was split in half to form the Second and Third Corps. The Second Corps was then commanded by Gen. Richard Ewell and while Gen. A.P Hill took control of the Third Corps till the end of the war. There was also a Cavalry unit in the army that was led by Gen J.E.B. Stuart. Each of the Corps was then divided into three divisions, which were comprised of five to three brigades. The brigades were made up of individual regiments varied in size but usually contained a small amount of men, usually for one area of the state from which they came. The number of men enlisted in the Army of

Northern Virginia varied throughout the war. At the Battle of Chancellorsville in 1863, there were around 57,000 men while during the Gettysburg campaign a couple of months later there were over 75,000 men listed.⁴⁶

The Army of Northern Virginia was comprised of not just Virginians, but from men all over the Southern states. There were regiments even from the far away border states of Texas and Arkansas. The men who made up this large army came from all areas of Southern society, but the majority of them were poor or blue-collar men.⁴⁷ Many of the wealthy Southern citizens bypassed the Confederate draft by hiring a substitute to fight for them at a cost of \$1000.⁴⁸ The lower class of Southern men could not afford this and therefore could not escape the draft. The soldiers in grey also came from a culture where revivals were common occurrences. Christianity in the antebellum South was an important part of life for most Southerners. The Southern church was "fervent, aggressive, and influential."⁴⁹ For most Confederate soldiers, even though they may not have been ardent supporters of Christianity, it was highly likely that other members of their family were.⁵⁰ Some historians look at this as one reason why the revivals in the Confederacy were more active and concentrated than in the Union Army.⁵¹

⁴⁶ National Park Service Historical Preservation Society, *Civil War Battle Statistics*, <<http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/battles/bycampaign.htm>>, Accessed June 13, 2010.

⁴⁷ James McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 614.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 602.

⁴⁹ Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), 183.

⁵⁰ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 35.

⁵¹ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 183.

The Great Revival in the Army of Northern Virginia

By the fall of 1862, the Civil War had killed hundreds of thousands, tearing apart the hearts and hopes of the North and South alike. Death had become horrifyingly real, touching nearly every family and village who sent troops to the front. The response of thousands of soldiers (even entire armies) to the death and horrors around them was a remarkable wave of revival. Both the Union and Confederate forces experienced revivals, but nothing was as strong or intense as in the Army of Northern Virginia. Most of the early reports of revivals came in 1862 from the valley in Virginia where Jackson's corps was encamped. It was this corps that had been the most successful in recruiting competent ministers to serve as chaplains. Trimble's brigade – consisting of the 21st North Carolina, 21st Georgia, 15th Alabama and the 16th Mississippi – appears to have been the first organization seriously effected by revivalism. Both Pickett's division and Lawton's brigade, however reported revivals at this time and General Jubal Early is alleged to have modified the standard operational procedure of camp to assist with revivals in units under his command.⁵² One soldier remarked that during this time "there had been a very decided change in the religious tone of the army, going on during the past six weeks."⁵³

By the beginning of 1863, revivals were happening in many of the different brigades, but they were mostly isolated events. Soldiers and chaplains recorded the

⁵² Herman Norton, "Revivalism in the Confederate Armies," *Civil War History* 6, no. 4 (1960): 412, see also Jones, *Christ in the Camp* 283, Benjamin Rice Lacey, *Revivals in the Midst of the Years*, (Royal Publishing, Inc., 1968), 116.

⁵³ Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of the Civil War Soldiers*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 196.

differences that had happened in just one year in their camps. Most chaplains agreed that the atmosphere had changed and the soldiers were more receptive to religion than ever before.⁵⁴ The year of 1863 brought even more enthusiasm and fervor for the revivals in the camps. During the beginning months chaplains recorded that the meetings became more and more frequent, some happening daily. When the army was stationed around Fredericksburg, the revival meetings drew crowds from one thousand to twelve hundred men each time.⁵⁵ Some of these meetings lasted as long as fifty-five days, while some were much shorter. The atmosphere at this time in the camps was open for revivals and many of the commanding officers changed their schedules to accommodate the meetings. Generals like Trimble and Samuel Jones suspended the morning drills so that the revival meetings could occur during the morning hours.⁵⁶

From Fredericksburg, the revivals spread to the neighboring camps and continued on. Daily conversions occurred in many of the brigades during the revival meetings.⁵⁷ Barksdale's brigade experienced 150-200 conversions in one day and had sermons and prayer meetings hourly from noon until night. This continued on well in the summer of 1863 with 200 conversions reported there on the eve of the battle of Chancellorsville.⁵⁸ In March of 1863, Confederate President Jefferson Davis's called for a day of fasting that

⁵⁴ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 89.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁶ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 307, and Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 93.

⁵⁷ Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Co, 1903), 140.

⁵⁸ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 307 and William Wallace Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed In the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union*, (Harrison, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1976), 285.

was well attended and encouraged the religious spirit of the soldiers.⁵⁹ In part of Jackson's Corps, a series of outdoor meetings lasted several weeks where there were upwards of a thousand converted.⁶⁰ One chaplain remarked on May 30, 1863 in Richmond that he had observed that the revivals had touched almost every regiment and that everywhere meetings were occurring and souls were saved.⁶¹

The revivals slowed down somewhat during the summer months as the march into Pennsylvania and Battle of Gettysburg took place, but the spirit remained there. For some soldiers, the fighting and loss at Gettysburg pushed them closer towards God and the numbers of conversions continued to rise despite the active campaigning and battles.⁶² The spiritual enthusiasm reached its climax in the camps along the Rapidan during the winter of 1863-1864. This phase of the evangelistic efforts, which was characterized as the most intense and long lasting revival, became known as the 'Great Revival.'⁶³ During this time there was an estimated 7000 conversions and 32 out of the 38 infantry brigades experienced the revivals.⁶⁴ This revival was widespread throughout the Army of Northern Virginia. It is estimated that 85% of the brigades in the Army were touched by the revival. This was when the revivals reached their peak.⁶⁵ Many of the chaplains recorded the large number of conversions and meetings that occurred during this time. They were

⁵⁹ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 96.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 97.

⁶¹ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 309-310.

⁶² Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 107.

⁶³ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 416

⁶⁴ Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place*, 99.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 100.

overjoyed and excited to see the soldiers' devotion to God. In fact one chaplain said in the year of 1863, that if it weren't for the separation from his family he would never want to leave where he was. He said the revival atmosphere that was so rampant in the camps was something he had never seen before and that filled him with joy.⁶⁶ One other point of interest about the camps at Rapidan, some chaplains not only concerned themselves with their soldier's spiritual well being, but also their education. In Mahone's Virginia brigade, the two chaplains not only taught Bible classes but also taught: spelling, reading, writing, grammar, geography, astronomy, mathematics, Latin, Greek, etc. Many of the soldiers in that brigade were illiterate and learned how to read due to the chaplains' work.⁶⁷

The revivals continued on into the year of 1864. It was at this time that there were the highest numbers of chaplains in the Army of Northern Virginia than the rest of the war.⁶⁸ Some regiments continued on in the daily prayer and revivals meetings. One chaplain said just before the campaign began to fight Grant, they had several daily prayer meetings, sermons at noon and night whenever possible, and many Bible school classes.⁶⁹ The end of 1864 had completed the majority of the revivals completed, although there were still reports of large conversions in individual regiments. The intense fighting and bloodshed that occurred in early 1865 during the last days of the war severely hampered

⁶⁶ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 305.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 363.

⁶⁸ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 123.

⁶⁹ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 508.

the revivals.⁷⁰ But, some chaplains recorded that during the last days at Petersburg there were a large number of conversions.⁷¹

The Revival Meetings

The revival meetings became a distinct and daily part of soldier camp life. In many brigades, the meetings “took place almost daily in camp throughout 1863-64 and included sermons, prayer meetings, scripture lessons, and hymn singings.”⁷² One brigade chaplain had this schedule in his brigade – “daily prayers at sunrise, an ‘inquiry meeting’ at eight, preaching at eleven, prayers for the success of the Confederate cause at four, and preaching again at night.”⁷³ Many chaplains followed schedules like this and used every resource they could find to help them. Every type of religious service was pressed into use during the revival. They also branched out beyond just a Sunday meeting. Preaching, Sunday school, prayer meetings, Bible classes, inquiry, exhortations, and singing meetings all became instrumentalities of the movement.⁷⁴

The religious meetings for most brigades were also daily affairs. For some, sermons and prayer meetings were virtually hourly affairs from noon until late at night as the soldiers became alive with religious animation.⁷⁵ Some chaplains held services daily

⁷⁰ Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place*, 103.

⁷¹ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 418.

⁷² J. Tracy Powers, *Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 67.

⁷³ Drew Gilpin Faust, “Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army,” *The Journal of Southern History*, 53, no. 1 (1987): 66.

⁷⁴ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 413.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 414.

despite the weather or any other hindrances. Some meetings sometimes lasted for fifty-five consecutive days and nights without regard to weather or unpleasant circumstances.⁷⁶ The services were usually well attended too. Many chaplains recorded that the meeting places were crowded and usually completely filled. One report says that the men would start running to the meeting place close to an hour beforehand to ensure that they were able to get a seat.⁷⁷ The chaplains worked hard to provide their troops with a stable religious environment, despite the constant upheaval of the war. The timing and religious meetings were often put on hold due military movement and warfare, reconvening during times of a lull or stillness. But in some brigades with some chaplains, military movement and combat did not hinder the religious activities of the company. Chaplain John J. Hyman was the chaplain of the 49th Georgia regiment, preached from four to six times each day and when the orders came from the command to march in the Gettysburg campaign, Hyman was in the water baptizing fifty-eight converts. This regiment, under Hyman's leadership experienced one of the strongest revivals and there were large numbers of conversions and men were baptized daily.⁷⁸

Many of the meetings were conducted in makeshift shelters, crude churches built by the soldiers or in churches near the camps. Some chapels built had only a roof and walls, while others were more elaborate but for the most part they were built very simply. Due to the cold winters though, many were built with chimneys so that services didn't stop for the weather. One chapel constructed by the 27th North Carolina was so big that it

⁷⁶ *Religious Herald*, Richmond VA, Feb 26, 1863.

⁷⁷ James Robertson Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Grey* (Columbia University Press, 1988), 187-88.

⁷⁸ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 306.

had six chimneys built to ward off the winter cold.⁷⁹ One soldier's account describes the meeting structures in his brigade "

A stranger to pass along our lines would conclude we were a very religious people. He would see commodious churches every six or eight hundred yards. They are made of logs of course. To save labor and heat they are three or four feet below the surface. "⁸⁰

His description is common for many brigades; they would build temporary church structures every place they stopped for a serious period of time leaving the Virginia landscape littered with hundreds of churches like the one he described.⁸¹ Bennett also records that in another church, the pulpit and benches were removed from the church to the adjacent hillside so more of the soldiers and officers were able to hear and participate in the meeting.⁸² During the fall of 1863 it is estimated that for the Army of Northern Virginia, around forty chapels were built for services.⁸³

One chaplain, Rev. William Owen gives the account of revival meetings he participated in after the Battle at Fredericksburg in spring of 1863. He says:

“After my arrival we held three meetings a day – a morning and afternoon prayer meeting, and a preaching service at night. We could scarcely ask of delightful religious interest more than we received. Our sanctuary has been crowded – lower floor and gallery.... At every call for the anxious, the entire altar, the front six seats of the five blocks of pews surrounding the pulpit, and all the spaces thereabouts ever so closely packed, could scarcely accommodate the supplicants.”⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 229.

⁸⁰ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 414.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 257.

⁸² Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 247.

⁸³ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 229.

The revivals among the camps were similar in some ways to the camp meetings and revival services that many Southerners were familiar with. Many of the chaplains remarked on the somber atmosphere of the meetings. One article on the *Christian Advocate* described the revivals as deep and spiritual contemplation, with no boisterous or extravagant excitement.⁸⁵ Another chaplain said that there was little noise or emotion during the services except tears.⁸⁶ Tears seemed to be the most common emotional response to the revival services, but sometimes there were great emotional outbursts that occurred during the meetings. One explanation is that the shaking, loss of speech, weeping, and severe emotional outbursts that occasionally happened during the meetings may have been one way the Confederate soldiers dealt with what psychologists later termed as "shell-shock."⁸⁷ But the emotional outbursts were not to the same degree as the ones back home, "the holy barks, shouts, jerks and fainting spells, and other excessive emotional outbursts which were so typical of the revivals in the West and in the South in the early 19th century, were usually absent during the spiritual awakening in the Confederate armies."⁸⁸

Throughout the war years, the interest in revival meetings and religion increased, as the number of soldiers in attendance grew. The chaplains reported that many conversions took place in many different brigades and even army hospitals as the years wore on. One important part of the chaplain's work was in the hospital with the

⁸⁴ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 252.

⁸⁵ *Southern Churchman*, Richmond, VA, November 7, 1862.

⁸⁶ Prim, *Southern Methodism*, 244.

⁸⁷ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 83.

⁸⁸ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 15.

wounded soldiers and they carried the revival spirit into the hospitals with them. In Farmville, Virginia, the chaplain reported that there was "a most interesting revival" in the army hospital where he was serving. Many other chaplains reported similar events at army hospitals all over Virginia.⁸⁹ By the middle of 1862, many hospitals were reporting revivals. The revivals also followed from the hospitals back to the regiments. Many times, soldiers who had experienced the revivals while recovering in the hospitals returned to their regiments full of religious enthusiasm and would start holding prayer meetings and other services in their regiments.⁹⁰ After one soldier returned to his regiment and started having daily prayer meetings later recorded almost a hundred conversions within a couple of months.⁹¹

The Chaplain's Work

When the fighting broke out at Fort Sumter, no one thought that it would last as long or be as costly as the war turned out to be. For this reason, in the beginning of the war little effort was made to care for the religious state of the soldiers. The first priority was to win the war quickly, not the religious life of the soldiers. For this reason, many of the first chaplains to serve in the Army of Northern Virginia did not do much in the way of organized religious activity.⁹² Historians have noted that the religious activity in the first year of the war were short-range projects and was very lacking.⁹³ Many of the

⁸⁹Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 209.

⁹⁰ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 33.

⁹¹ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 157.

⁹² Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Army*, 412.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 411.

soldiers "had no contact with organized religion or chaplains for several months."⁹⁴ The result of the lack of effort in the early year was that there was little revival or religious programs during that time, it is recorded that there were only four small revivals and no more than 50 conversions at that time.⁹⁵ The chaplains who served during this first year were for the most part, ill equipped and many resigned their commission after the first year.⁹⁶ Many of the chaplains who would later be a part of the revivals had actually first enlisted as soldiers, than later on switched to serving as chaplains. J. William Jones is one such example. Jones first enlisted in the 13th Virginia Regiment on 17 April 1861, and later was appointed to chaplain in October of that year.⁹⁷ Some of the chaplains also did not hesitate to pick up a gun and join the fighting if needed.

But as the war dragged on, the religious leaders in the South realized that they needed to focus on the soldier's spiritual life. Jones, along with the others started serving as chaplains in the Army of Northern Virginia. The home churches and denominations also started working to promote the rank of chaplain more and encouraging more ministers to serve the army in this capacity. After the first few months of the war, the chaplain's pay was cut from \$80 a month to \$50 a month. This amount would be about just enough for a chaplain to buy rations for himself with nothing left to send home.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid., 411.

⁹⁵ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 104.

⁹⁶ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 63.

⁹⁷ William Earl Brown, "Pastoral Evangelism: A Model for Effective Evangelism as Demonstrated by the Ministries of John Albert Broadus, Alfred Elijah Dickinson, and John William Jones in the Revival of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1863," (Ph.D diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2000.), 113,

During the year of 1862, their wage was raised to \$80, but it was still a very small amount and almost half of what Union chaplains received.⁹⁹ Because the chaplains served with little or no wages, the denominations and local churches started raising money to increase the chaplain's wage. Chaplains could now serve in the army and still be able to provide for their families back at home.¹⁰⁰ This focus on the religious atmosphere that began was one of the catalysts that helped bring about the revivals in the army.

The chaplains themselves were also active in recruiting more chaplains as they realized the great need for more help. Late in 1862, the chaplains in the Second Corps, under Jackson's command were committed to enlisting more chaplains for their brigades, where there were vacancies in approximately half of the eighty plus brigades. They drafted a letter, "An address of the Chaplains of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia to the Churches of the Confederate States" that was published in the religious newspapers all across the South asking for more chaplains to come and help them and their hope to place at least one chaplain in every regiment.¹⁰¹

The chaplains in the Army of Northern Virginia shouldered much of the responsibility for the spiritual life in the camps. They worked hard counseling, baptizing, and other pastoral duties, but their greatest work was "their activities in connection with

⁹⁸ James Brinsfield and Benedict Maryniak, eds, *The Spirit Divided: Memoirs of Civil War Chaplains*, (Mercer University Press, 2006), 10.

⁹⁹ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 146.

¹⁰⁰ Alan J. Lefever, "God in the Camps: Ministry to the Soldiers," *Baptist History and Heritage* 32, no. 3 (1997): 24.

¹⁰¹ "An Address of the Chaplains of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia to the Churches of the Confederate States," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 19 (1886): 345-56.

the emergence, course and consequences of revivalism."¹⁰² The chaplains that served in the Army of Northern Virginia came from all different denominations, mostly of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian denominations. The chaplains though, despite their theological differences created an atmosphere of Christian unity among the camps. The chaplains helped each other with their pastoral duties and revivals despite the different denominations. The revival meetings were all inter-denominational, one night may have a Methodist preacher, the next a Baptist, and the next a Catholic and the same soldiers flocked to hear all. One Methodist chaplain's memoirs recorded one interdenominational Sunday at a brigade, he preached first, followed by a Presbyterian, and then finally a Baptist.¹⁰³ This is "one of the most striking aspects of the prolonged and intense religious awakening in the various Civil War armies, that they were characterized by a great deal of gracious forbearance and brotherly kindness among members of the various denominations."¹⁰⁴ One Presbyterian minister even witnessed an Episcopal minister baptize Baptists by immersion.¹⁰⁵ They also adopted articles of faith that stressed the most important doctrinal issues for the new converts, but general enough that all the denominations could agree with.¹⁰⁶ The unity among the chaplains was a great asset to the revivals and helped to promote the Christian brotherhood.

¹⁰² Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 410.

¹⁰³ Brinsfield, *Faith in the Fight*, 139.

¹⁰⁴ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 224.

¹⁰⁵ G. Clinton Prim, "Interdenominationalism in the Civil War: Army Churches," *Journal of Mississippi History* 51, no. 1 (1989): 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

Helps and Hindrances to the Revival

The chaplains were not alone though, but were also joined by others who were also concerned about the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. As time went on, many others joined the ranks to help the chaplains in their ministry. Three areas that greatly assisted the work of the chaplains were in the area of colporteurs, visiting evangelists and preachers, and the commanding officers. Colporteurs were engaged in distributing religious literature such as tracts and Bibles among the soldiers. Bibles from the British and Foreign Bible Society were even smuggled into the South around the Union blockade to send to the Confederate troops.¹⁰⁷ The Confederate Bible Society was founded in 1862 in hopes of providing every soldier with his own Bible.¹⁰⁸ Some of the organizations that were heavily involved in printing and distributing religious literature were The Baptists, The Evangelical Tract Society and the South Carolina Tract Society.¹⁰⁹ In spite of paper shortages due to the war effort “nearly two hundred million pages of tracts were distributed to soldiers during the war.”¹¹⁰ Stonewall Jackson was said to have kept a stack of tracts with him to distribute among his soldiers and give them out as rewards.¹¹¹ Many soldiers wrote that they received encouragement from reading their Bibles and other religious material.¹¹² One colporteur in Richmond recorded that in one month he handed out 41,000 pages of tracts and remarked that he was amazed at the attention given by the

¹⁰⁷ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 46.

¹⁰⁸ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 66.

¹⁰⁹ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 156.

¹¹⁰ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 66.

¹¹¹ Lefever, *God in the Camps*, 26..

¹¹² Jones, *Christ in the Camps*, 58.

soldiers to his ministry.¹¹³ One soldier believed so strongly in distributing tracts to his fellow comrades that while stationed in Richmond, he would sell newspapers to other soldiers and use the proceeds to buy tracts to hand out.¹¹⁴ The literature served as an effective evangelistic tool and helped to foster the revival attitude among the soldiers.

The most numerous and most influential of the religious publications that were circulated to the soldiers were those called tracts. Southern theologians from major denominations wrote the tracts on a variety of different topics. They ranged in length from four pages, which was the most common, to some with twenty-four pages. Some of the themes covered by the tracts were the importance of conversion, how to seek religion, the dangers of certain sins (most often attacked were drinking, gambling and swearing), and some emphasized practical issues such as a soldier's health.¹¹⁵ One topic that the tracts and other literature did not emphasize was the war or their Yankee enemies as all agreed the most important theme to be emphasized was the salvation of Jesus Christ and God's love.¹¹⁶ One of the most popular tracts was called "A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy," which talked about everything from the importance of individual conversion to obedience for commanding officers and moral issues. In the first year of publication about two hundred and fifty thousand copies were issued to soldiers.¹¹⁷ One

¹¹³ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 164.

¹¹⁴ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 83

¹¹⁵ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 21.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

historian commented that the strength and duration of the revivals was mostly due to the distribution to of religious literature.¹¹⁸

The chaplains were also greatly assisted by visiting evangelists, preacher and missionaries who helped carry out some of the pastoral duties needed in the camps. Despite the fervent work of the Southern denominations during the first years, there was still a great lack of chaplains. Many regiments didn't have their own chaplain or shared a chaplain with another regiment. Especially as the revivals progressed, many of the chaplains felt under-qualified and overworked. There was a great demand for "ministerial reinforcements" and many denominations answered by sending some of their best evangelists to help the chaplains with their work.¹¹⁹ There were even some missionaries whose other ministries were closed that aided the chaplains, but their numbers were not very large.¹²⁰

One of the other factors that immensely assisted the work of the chaplains was the cooperation of commanding officers. Many of the officers in the Army of Northern Virginia were devout Christians, such as Lee and Jackson, and they eagerly participated in and encouraged the revivals.¹²¹ Some of the officers, like Generals Bragg, Ewell, Hood and Joseph E. Johnston, were among those who were converted during the revivals of the war.¹²² Even if the higher officers were not professing Christians, many still held a

¹¹⁸ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 183

¹¹⁹ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 419.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 410.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 421.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 424.

great respect for religion and thought the revivals were important in maintaining order and morality among their soldiers.¹²³ Not all commanding officers were in favor of the religious atmosphere in the camps. The soldiers tended to imitate the behavior of their commanding authority. In brigades where the higher officers displayed immoral behavior, it presented a much harder resistance for the chaplains to overcome than in the brigades where officers helped the chaplains with promotion.¹²⁴ The uncooperative commanding officers were one of the main hindrances to the revivalism in certain brigades.

Some of the other hindrances were the weather and military campaigns and other chaplains. The campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia placed many limitations on the revivals. The revivals flourished when there was time available to be devoted to the religious activities and the corps was for the most part somewhat stationary. During active campaigning and fighting, the chaplains were restricted in their religious programs. One historian points out that "in each instance where a revival had got under way when the armies were in winter quarters, the initiation of maneuvers curtailed the evangelistic activities."¹²⁵ Bad weather also placed limitations on the chaplain's and their work as most of their services were conducted outside due to the movement of the army and lack of chapels.

Not all the chaplains and denominations were on board and excited about the revivals. The Evangelical religions, including the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians

¹²³ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 413.

¹²⁴ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies*, 422.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 421.

were very enthusiastic about the revivals and their support of them.¹²⁶ This is one reason why the majority of the chaplains and religious literature came from these three denominations. The Southern Episcopal church on the other hand, was very skeptical about the revivals and religious enthusiasm displayed by the soldiers, but did acknowledge its presence and influence. One Episcopal spokesman said this regarded the revivals "men in large bodies such as the army were unaccustomed to reason and reflection while strongly prone to the impulses of passion and sympathy. Impressions thus hastily made by feeling without the support of reason to an appreciable depth were apt to be shallow and easily effaced. Still we have no doubt that much good has been accomplished in the army by those who relied mainly on revivalism."¹²⁷

The Episcopal Church was not the only denomination that was hesitant regarding the revivals. The Lutheran Church did not view the revivals in a favorable light. Some synods took an anti-revival position and there are few records of any of the Lutheran chaplains participating in a revival.¹²⁸ The Anti-Missionary Baptists and the Old School Presbyterians were also against the revivals. The regiments where there were a large number of men or a chaplain from these denominations were highly unlikely to experience a revival unless it was encouraged from an outside chaplain or other source that would promote the revivals.¹²⁹ The other main denomination that didn't greatly participate in the revivals was the Roman Catholic Church. Even though they were few in

¹²⁶ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 4.

¹²⁷ *Christian Intelligencer*, Jan 8. 1864.

¹²⁸ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

numbers, they did have a presence in the Confederate army. The Catholic priests who served the army were active participants in their own religious services, but didn't promote the revival meetings.¹³⁰ There was a great prejudice between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, which was one cause of the division between them and lack of support on the Catholic's part of the revivals.¹³¹ There are reports that the Catholics were active in their own meetings and traditions. One observer said that he witnessed many well-attended services of the Holy Communion Table by soldiers, privates, and other high-ranking officers in the Army of Northern Virginia.¹³²

The chaplains, with their outside help, also greatly depended on the soldiers themselves to assist them in promoting the revivals. Many of the soldiers who had been touched by the revivals were eager for their fellow comrades to experience the same. Giles Cooke, a staff officer in the Army of Northern Virginia was one such soldier who expressed a growing concern for his fellow soldiers, wanting them to find the same and hope and assurance that he found himself. His diaries and letters are filled with prayers that friends and loved ones would “come to know Christ.”¹³³ The soldiers who found comfort and solace in their faith urged their comrades to do the same.

The Christian soldiers, faced with the horrors of war and the intensifying religious spirit in the camp, developed organizations that would foster unity and brotherhood. They

¹³⁰ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 5.

¹³¹ Ibid., 46.

¹³² Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 185.

¹³³ Kent T. Dollar, *Soldiers of the Cross: Confederate Soldier-Christians and the Impact of the War on Their Faith*, (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2005), 169.

called them Christian Associations, "an arrangement that allowed soldiers to come together organizationally for worship and mutual encouragement but did not compromise any of the various denominations' doctrinal differences."¹³⁴ The Christian Associations sprang up in many different brigades offering the soldiers a sort of "church" away from home. As the chaplains learned to work together despite theological differences, so these associations helped the soldiers worship and fellowship together despite the different denominations present. The unity that came from these associations helped further promote the revivals as the camps saw the influence of religion in these men's lives. The purpose of the Christian Association in Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson's brigade was to "provide Christian fellowship for soldiers and combat the immoral influences prevalent in the camp."¹³⁵ These associations also helped relieve some of the chaplain's duties as the associations took on the leadership of worship services themselves. In Anderson's Georgia brigade, there was a Christian Association for the all five regiments there. They only had three chaplains serving among the five regiments so the association helped the chaplains in serving the two brigades that were missing chaplains. By the fall of 1863 almost a third of the brigade was involved in the Christian Association.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Woodworth, *While God is Marching One*, 221.

¹³⁵ Dollar, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 71.

¹³⁶ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 221.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEOLOGY OF THE REVIVALS

Influences of Revivalism

Charles Finney's method of revivals greatly influenced the way the chaplains and others conducted these revivals. They adopted the theology of free will and the human's responsibility of choice in their revivals. One historian comments "more soldiers were practical Arminians than strict Calvinists. By the mid-nineteenth century most American Protestants believed in their free will to choose the path of salvation by voluntarily placing themselves in a position to receive God's grace."¹³⁷ The emphasis of the religious activities was on an individual's responsibility to respond to God. The chaplains agreed together that a soldier's salvation was the most important emphasis and reward of their work. This was seen in the sermons and the attitude of the Christians workers among the soldiers. The thought of Providence received less frequent mention than might have been expected; in sermons and meetings recorded by the troops, individual salvation appears to have been the foremost topic."¹³⁸ As one Methodist preacher said it "I too exhorted and invited the penitent sinners forward and several of them were heavy burdened with sin."¹³⁹

The majority of the Confederate chaplains focused their sermons on "basic evangelical truth that stressed the righteousness and mercy of God, the importance of individual salvation and the path of Christian morality as revealed in the Scriptures."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 67.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹³⁹ Frederick Norwood, ed. *Sourcebook of American Methodism* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1982), 189.

They stressed the life and work of Jesus Christ. One of the popular sermon topics was "God's Plan for Salvation." This followed the Scriptures in an easy explanation on salvation, Romans 3:23, I Corinthians 15:3-4, Psalm 32:5, and lastly John 1:12.¹⁴¹ For those soldiers who were illiterate, chaplains used John 3:16 as a basic text that could be easily memorized but still present the plan of salvation.¹⁴² Chaplain Hugh R. Scott observed from the meetings he attended that "the preacher always delivered a plain practical sermon in which the great doctrines of justification by faith, evangelical repentance, and the new birth was set forth by the simplest language."¹⁴³ No matter who was the preacher or chaplain, they all highlighted one thing in their message; by accepting Jesus as his savior, one could be born again.¹⁴⁴

John C. Granberry, who was the superintendent of Methodist missionaries in Army of Northern Virginia, said this about the revival sermons that he listened to

"Eternal things, the claims of God, the worth of the soul, the wages of sin which is death, and the gift of God which is eternal life through Jesus Christ our God- these were the matter of preaching. There was pathos and urgency of appeal. The hearers were besought to immediate and uncompromising action, for the time was short."¹⁴⁵

The songs also carried over the importance of salvation and were favorites of "born-again revivals." Some of the favorites in the Army of Northern Virginia were "Amazing Grace" and "How Firm a Foundation."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ Brinsfield, *A Spirit Divided*, 40.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁴² Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 525.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 206-7

¹⁴⁴ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 14.

¹⁴⁶ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 39.

The Confederate soldiers came from religious backgrounds and were familiar with Christianity for the most part. The chaplains not only stressed the need for those who did not believe to be saved, but also those who had backslidden and made some wrong decisions. The revivals did not only include new conversions but also a number of recommitments. This follows Finney's explanation of revivals. Revivals were not just for those who were not saved, but for Christians who had fallen away or just needed a renewing. Many of the Confederate soldiers who participated in the revivals were who had been nominal Christians, but during the horrors of war experienced a re-conversion or commitment to Christ. A chaplain noticed that the meetings were not just bringing in the unconverted, but the meetings brought the "bringing of backsliders, and the quickening of the zeal, and faith, and general consecration of God's people".¹⁴⁷ Throughout the revivals, the preachers and chaplains encouraged a decision from the soldiers and these meetings became a place, not just for new believers, but also for all soldiers to pray and meet with God.

Another aspect adopted from the influence of Finney was the mourner's bench or altar call. This, due to Finney, had become an important part of all revival services in the South and was a definite part of the revival meetings in the Army of Northern Virginia. As individual salvation was stressed in the battle side sermons, each chaplain ended the service with the call to come forward. The altar call was an essential part of revival meetings as the preachers and chaplains "emphasized that the men did retain a dimension of choice."¹⁴⁸ The altar calls were a difficult part of the service for many chaplains

¹⁴⁷ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 391.

¹⁴⁸ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 86.

though, for usually the space was so crowded at the altar that there was no room for all the men to go to the altar.

Prayer was also essential to the efforts of the revival. The legacy of prayer passed down from Finney had influenced life in the camps. The chaplains and soldiers understood the importance of their prayers and it became a central part of the religious atmosphere in the camps. Many believed that prayer was the most important spiritual discipline in the life of a believer.¹⁴⁹ Prayer meetings were also one of the most common ways to promote the revivals, not many soldiers on the eve of battle would decline to attend a prayer meeting.¹⁵⁰ Only rarely did professors of religion decline to attend prayer services when these services were available. Prayer meetings were held daily, hourly, or in some camps – continuously. The majority of the revival accounts mention the role of prayer meetings.¹⁵¹ Abraham Lincoln even once remarked, "rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness...than our own troops."¹⁵² One some brigades, the chaplains reported, "they had brigade prayer-meetings and mess prayer-meetings, and prayer meetings to prepare for prayer-meetings. Chaplains and missionaries were unable to hold services without conflicting with a prayer meeting."¹⁵³

Prayer meetings were a place where the soldiers could pour out their hearts to God. One soldier describes the subject of his prayers as

¹⁴⁹ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 11.

¹⁵⁰ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 397.

¹⁵¹ Brown, *Pastoral Evangelism*, 132.

¹⁵² John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds, *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (New York: Francis Tandy Company, 1894), 8:29-30.

¹⁵³ Jones, *Christ in the Camps*, 397.

"He does not tell the Lord the news of the day, or recount to Him the history of the country. He does not make a stump speech to the Lord on war – its causes, its progress, or its prospects. But from the depths of a heart that feels its need, he tells of present wants, asks for present blessings, and begs for the Holy Spirit in his convicting, converting power."¹⁵⁴

Many other soldiers took this time to ask for God's help and protection on the battlefields. Most soldiers believed that they could improve their chances of protection and help from God on the battlefield through prayer.¹⁵⁵ Prayer and faith were an important ingredient in the day-to-day lives of many soldiers during the Civil War.¹⁵⁶ While some believed they could improve their chances, others still believed in Divine Providence and it can be seen in their prayers. One soldier remarked on his belief in God's presence in the fight, that "We have prayer meetings ever night, and God never fails to meet with us. Now, I know we are not dependant upon instruments of power for carrying on a work of this kind."¹⁵⁷

Holiness in the Camps

Many of the chaplains, especially the Methodists chaplains, stressed morality and pietism in their army sermons.¹⁵⁸ Once the conversion or the renewal had happened, the chaplains turned to emphasizing the theological idea of sanctification. Life in the Confederate Army camps provided many of the soldiers with all kinds of temptations. Many of the young men in the Confederate Army had not been away from home before and being free from the restrictions of family and community, they were seduced by the

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 243.

¹⁵⁵ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 67.

¹⁵⁶ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 14.

¹⁵⁷ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 246.

¹⁵⁸ James Brinsfield, William C. Davis, Benedict Maryniak, and James I. Robertson, Jr., *Faith in the Fight: Civil War Chaplains*, Mechanicsville, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2003, 78.

vices available in the Confederate camps.¹⁵⁹ Much of the temptation for the soldiers was that the temptations they faced were easily accessible and away from influences which may have prevented the temptations before. The Christians, as well as those who did not profess any religion, noticed these ready temptations that were available to them. One soldier, Robert Moore, who later was converted a few years later, said in 1861 "I think the majority of the men of our Regt. are becoming very wild and contracting many bad habits." He was one of those who fell to the temptations and started drinking soon after.¹⁶⁰ Many of the chaplains and Christian soldiers remarked numerous about the rampant sins that were present in the camps. They wrote home with discouragement about the atmosphere they faced daily. Some even felt that the evils of camp were a sort of punishment for lack of religious attitude and respect during the early years of the war.¹⁶¹

The chaplains started to campaign and preach against the temptations that were found in the camps. Some of the evils that many chaplains directly attacked were profanity, drinking, and gambling.¹⁶² Swearing was seen as an ill-bred and common sin. It was also seen as a useless sin because it could bring about damnation for no purposes, which showed a moral weakness.¹⁶³ Drinking was another big problem among the soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia. One general said that if the South was

¹⁵⁹ Lefever, *God in the Camps*, 22.

¹⁶⁰ Dollar, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 70.

¹⁶¹ Reid Mitchell, Christian Soldiers? Perfecting the Confederacy, in *Religion and the American Civil War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 305.

¹⁶² Brinsfield, *Faith in the Fight*, 80.

¹⁶³ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 80.

overthrown, the epithet should be "Died of Whiskey."¹⁶⁴ The soldiers were away from their wives and families and the defeats on the battlefield just seemed to further lower their morale and many turned to whiskey to boost their spirits. Whiskey was readily available throughout the South where an estimated 64,000 gallons were produced in 1862 alone.¹⁶⁵ Gambling was also a big temptation for the men to pass away the long hours when there were no campaigns or drills.

The chaplains started focusing on the sanctification of the soldiers they served. The influence of the Methodist holiness tradition encouraged the soldiers to put away the evils of the camp in order to live a holy life before God. The inward transformation of a man into a man of holiness was seen as the end goal of a Christian.¹⁶⁶ They preached against the temptations that the daily soldier faced and encouraged them to live their life to honor God. The emphasis on morality and character was not just being stressed by the chaplains, but was present in every form of the revivals. Some of the tracts and other literature distributed to the soldiers also included and emphasis on holiness and piety. One widely circulated tract, *A Mother's Parting Words to her Soldier Boy*, greatly emphasized the importance of piety and living holy before God."¹⁶⁷ The Christian Associations, formed by many of the brigades, also helped to call attention to the importance of piety. In the laws of the Association in Jackson's brigade, it said that many church members are morally led astray and the purpose of the fellowship is to surround

¹⁶⁴ Lefever, *God in the Camps*, 22.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶⁶ Samuel J. Watson, "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies," *The Journal of Military History* 58, no. 1 (1994): 35.

¹⁶⁷ Faust, *Christian Soldiers*, 68.

the believers with as many "strengthening influences" around those who are struggling with temptation and instead help them to live more holy lives.¹⁶⁸ Ted Barclay was a faithful member of this Christian Association and was glad to have support and advice on overcoming the temptations of the camps.¹⁶⁹

Besides the influences to live with holiness from inside the camps, many soldiers were all encouraged and exhorted by their families far away through letters. Many wives, mothers, and fathers wrote to their loved ones supporting them in their Christian faith. One father, writing to his son said not to forget what he had learned about God and to continue living a moral life. He told his son " Aim to take a decided stand for God. I would rather hear of your death than of the shipwreck of your faith and good conscience."¹⁷⁰ These letters from home did much to encourage the soldiers in their actions.

As the revivals happened and morality was stressed, there began a change in the atmosphere among the soldiers. One chaplain of the Army of Northern Virginia remarked in 1863 how his own brigade has changed. He said, "The moral tone of our brigade is rapidly changing. Card-playing is fast playing out, swearing is not heard so much as formerly and attendance on preaching is increasing."¹⁷¹ Many soldiers who were converted during the war stopped "their iniquitous behavior that they had engaged in before."¹⁷² Robert Moore, who earlier had remarked on the wild behavior of the camp

¹⁶⁸ Dollar, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 71.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 71.

¹⁷⁰ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 29.

¹⁷¹ Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 219.

that he soon joined, changed his life forever when he converted in 1863. He stopped his drinking and stood resolute in his new faith.¹⁷³ One chaplain, William H. Browning, writing to the *Southern Christian Advocate*, said that the morals of the army were far ahead of those of the country.¹⁷⁴

The chaplains rejoiced to see the behavior changes in the men they served and evangelized. One chaplain said that there was an element of true piety that the armies of the South had.¹⁷⁵ Another chaplain said this about his troops:

It will be a source of delight to Christians and all thinking people to know that the religious element among our troops is much greater now than at any time previous since the war began. I believe sincerely that there is less profanity in a week, now, than there was in a day, six months ago. And I am quite sure there are ten who attend religious services, now, than there was in a day, six months ago.¹⁷⁶

A Methodist chaplain, T.D. Davenport, remarked of his company that it was impossible to count the revivals solely by the number of conversions. What can't be counted was change in morality that occurred in his brigade. During the long campaigns following, "scarcely an oath was heard, a deck of cards seen, there were many who did not go to the altar or make a public profession, who were, nonetheless, changed in feeling and in life."¹⁷⁷

The change brought by an emphasis on holiness and morality didn't go unnoticed even by critics of the revivals. One Episcopal spokesman who was doubtful and

¹⁷² Dollar, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 64.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁷⁴ Jones, *Christ in the Camps*, 392.

¹⁷⁵ Bennett, *The Great Revival*, 132.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 176.

¹⁷⁷ Prim, *Born Again in the Trenches*, 83.

disbelieving of the revivals said that he observed an improvement in the morality of the soldiers in the camps and he hoped that it was a result of a true, honest conversion.¹⁷⁸ The commanding officers that were not professors of religion recognized the difference between a Christian soldier and a non-Christian soldier. One captain said about the influence of Christianity "I am not a Christian myself, but I will say that the best men in my company are the church members and those who have a high respect for religion."¹⁷⁹ The influence of Methodist and holiness was an important part of the revivals in the Army of Northern Virginia and left a lasting influence on the South.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ *Christian Intelligencer*, Jan 8, 1864.

¹⁷⁹ *Christian Index*, Macon, GA, May 6, 1863.

¹⁸⁰ Prim, *Southern Methodist*, 240.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION

The Results of the Revivals

After the fall of 1864, the revivals began to decrease as the intensity of the fighting increased at Richmond and Petersburg. But, the work of the chaplains had been successful. There are many estimates of the total number of conversions that occurred during the revivals. Jones stated that a total of at least 15,000 soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia, but admits that his number is very conservative.¹⁸¹ Bennett gives a high estimate of 150,000 conversions that resulted from the revivals and he thought that it represented about a third of Lee's army.¹⁸² The *Religious Herald*, in December 1, 1864 estimated the number of conversions at 142,000.¹⁸³ Another newsprint, the *South Western Baptist*, wrote in November 24, 1864 that there 140,000 conversions during the revivals. Many historians believe that a figure somewhere between these estimates, but closer to the higher figures.¹⁸⁴ But, despite the difference in number estimates, any number shows that the revivals had a significant influence on the Army of Northern Virginia. These numbers also represent a wide range of the Army of Northern Virginia. It is estimated that 85% of the brigades in Lee's army were touched by the revivals, especially during the summer and fall of 1863.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 390.

¹⁸² Bennett, *The Great Revivals*, 413.

¹⁸³ *Religious Herald*, Richmond, VA, December 1, 1864.

¹⁸⁴ Norton, *Revivalism in the Confederate Armies* 423.

¹⁸⁵ Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place*, 103.

The numbers though do not share the whole story. There was much more influence beyond the numbers of conversions. The atmosphere of the camps was changed. As mentioned earlier, one of the changes wrought by the revivals was that the vices of drinking, gambling, etc. that had earlier been prevalent in the army were diminished as the converted men sought to live lives of holiness before God. Along with the vices, the attitude of the camps was changed. Jones felt that the fraternal spirit that prevailed for years in the South after the Civil War was due to the habit of cooperation and brotherhood, which was exemplified, by the chaplains and soldiers during the war.¹⁸⁶ Other historians point to the religious experiences of the soldiers as the reason for the remarkable patience with which the Southern veterans endured the indignities and hardships of the postwar period largely to the religious experiences of their army life.¹⁸⁷ There are also reports of small revivals that occurred in the South after the war that were a continuation of what had occurred during the war.¹⁸⁸

One historian remarked, "A belief in God's providence helped them [the soldiers and military leaders touched by the revivals] to endure the final months of agony before the Confederacy collapsed."¹⁸⁹ The army revivals that occurred during the war "helped to prepare the South to accept defeat and prepared Southerners to live at peace with their former enemies."¹⁹⁰ The revivals themselves also changed the South's understanding in

¹⁸⁶ Prim, *Interdenominationalism*, 18-19.

¹⁸⁷ John Shepherd Jr., "Religion in the Army of Northern Virginia," *North Carolina Historical Review* 25, July 1948: 365.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹⁸⁹ Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place*, 108.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

their ultimate defeat. When the hope of a military victory was gone, the Southerners comforted themselves that they had still gained a spiritual victory. While news of the revivals had been reported faithfully through thousands of letters and newspapers, many Southerners and the soldiers themselves looked at the results of the revivals as the real victory. The soldiers looked to their faith as some compensation for the failure of the military struggle.¹⁹¹ They rejoiced in the experience of God during the war and saw the spiritual victory as greater than any physical victory.

Conclusion

This is a topic that deserves further research and investigation. This work in no way is a complete discussion on the revivals in the Army of Northern Virginia, or the Confederate Army as a whole. There is still much more research that is needed on the other revivals that happened in the rest of the Confederate Army. There is also little written about the small revivals that occurred in the Union Armies. This is a topic that should no longer be ignored, but one that should continue to be additionally investigated.

In this work, we have taken a closer look at the revivals that occurred during the Civil War in the Army of Northern Virginia. In the first chapter, we explored some of the theological influences of the revivals. Following then, a description of the Army of Northern Virginia and the revivals that took place. We looked at the chaplains who served and conducted the revivals and what the revivals were like for the men involved. Lastly, there were examples of how the theological background influenced the revivals and how they were thought of. For the men who experienced the revivals, it was a

¹⁹¹ Shattuck, *A Shield and Hiding Place*, 109.

tangible work of God's grace. The revivals changed the atmosphere of the Army of Northern Virginia in a tremendous way.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- "An Address of the Chaplains of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia to the Churches of the Confederate States." *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 19 (1886): 345-56.
- Bennett, William Wallace. *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed In the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union*. Harrison, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1976.
- Finney, Charles G. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1868.
- Jones, J. William. *Christ in the Camp: Religion in Lee's Army*. Richmond, Virginia: B. F. Johnson & Co., 1887.
- National Park Service Historical Preservation Society. *Civil War Battle Statistics*. <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/battles/bycampaign.htm>. Accessed June 13, 2010.
- Nicolay, John G. and John Hay, eds. *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Francis Tandy Company, 1894.
- Stiles, Robert. *Four Years Under Marse Robert*. New York: The Neale Publishing Co, 1903.
- Wesley, John. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. Online. <<http://gbgm-umc.org/UMhistory/Wesley/perfect.html>> Cited 13 July 2010.

Books

- Brinsfield, James, William C. Davis, Benedict Maryniak, and James I. Robertson, Jr, eds. *Faith in the Fight: Civil War Chaplains*. Mechanicsville, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2003.
- Brinsfield, James and Benedict Maryniak, eds. *The Spirit Divided: Memoirs of Civil War Chaplains*. Mercer University Press, 2006.
- Dieter, Melvin. *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1980.
- Dollar, Kent T. *Soldiers of the Cross: Confederate Soldier-Christians and the Impact of the War on Their Faith*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2005.
- Lacey, Benjamin Rice. *Revivals in the Midst of the Years*. Royal Publishing, Inc., 1968.

- McPherson, James. *For Cause and Comrades*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- _____. *The Battle Cry of Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Miller, Robert J. *Both Prayed to the Same God*. New York: Lexington Books, 2007.
- Norwood, Frederick, ed. *Sourcebook of American Methodism*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1982.
- Powers, J. Tracy. *Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Robertson, James Jr. *Soldiers Blue and Grey*. Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Shattuck, Gardiner H. *A Shield and Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987.
- Wiley, Bell Irvin. *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971.
- Wilson, LeGrand James. *The Confederate Soldier*. Edited by James I. Robertson Jr. Jackson, TN: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc, 1964.
- Woodworth, Steven E. *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of the Civil War Soldiers*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001.

Articles

- Brown, William Earl. "Pastoral Evangelism: A Model for Effective Evangelism as Demonstrated by the Ministries of John Albert Broadus, Alfred Elijah Dickinson, and John William Jones in the Revival of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1863." Ph.D diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2000.
- Caner, Ergun. "The Mourner's Bench: The Call to Decision by Dr. W. A. Criswell." *Criswell Theological Review* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 49-55.
- Carwardine, Richard. "Methodist, Politics, and the Coming of the American Civil War." *Church History* 69, no. 3 (Sept. 2000): 578-609.
- Dayton, Donald W. "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition." *The Christian Century* 92, no. 7 (Feb. 1975): 197-207.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army." *The Journal of Southern History*. 53, no. 1 (1987): 63-90.

- Johnson, James E. "Charles Finney and a Theology of Revivalism." *Church History* 38, no. 3 (1969): 338-358.
- Lefever, Alan J. "God in the Camps: Ministry to the Soldiers." *Baptist History and Heritage* 32, no. 3 (1997): 21-30.
- Leonard, Bill. "Getting Saved in America: Conversion Event in a Pluralistic Culture." *Review & Expositor* 82, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 111-127.
- Mitchell, Reid. Christian Soldiers?: Perfecting the Confederacy. In *Religion and the American Civil War*, ed by Randall Miller. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Norton, Herman. "Revivalism in the Confederate Armies." *Civil War History* 6, no. 4 (1960): 410-424.
- Prim, G. Clinton. "Born Again in the Trenches: Revivalism in the Confederate Army." Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, 1982.
- Prim, G. Clinton. "Interdenominationalism in the Civil War: Army Churches." *Journal of Mississippi History* 51, no. 1 (1989): 17-29.
- Prim, G. Clinton. "Southern Methodism in the Confederacy." *Methodist History* 23, no. 4 (1985): 240-249.
- Shepherd, John Jr. "Religion in the Army of Northern Virginia." *North Carolina Historical Review* 25 (July 1948): 341-370.
- Shiels, Richard. "America's Pentecost." *Cross Currents* 42, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 90-100.
- Watson, Samuel J. "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies." *The Journal of Military History* 58, no. 1 (1994): 29-55.
- Yrigoyen, Charles. "John Williamson Nevin: *The Anxious Bench* and Evangelical Party." *New Mercersburg Review* 1 (Fall 1985): 1-19.